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AUTHORITARIANISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM OF RURAL AND URBAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS¹

A. Lewis Rhodes

The following study is concerned with the relationship between authoritarianism and religious preference of high school seniors. It deals with three questions: Does authoritarianism (as measured by the F Scale) vary with religious preference, specifically Protestant fundamentalist preference? Is this relationship independent of selected factors such as socio-economic status, rural or urban residence, and influence of religious belief? Which of the F scale items are related to religious preference? Previous research has indicated that response to the F Scale content is not independent of some sociocultural factors. (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1954; MacKinnon & Centers, 1956). The efforts of certain contemporary Protestant sects to promote racial hatred suggest that religious persuasion may be connected with pre-fascist tendencies (Roy, 1953). Since the F Scale is concerned with these tendencies, it follows that F Scale performance could be affected by the quality of religious orientation as indicated by religious preference.

Data were presented by R. N. Sanford to show that subjects who profess some religious preference are more ethnocentric than those who do not, but little difference exists among major denominations (Sanford, 1950). T. W. Adorno, on the other hand, states that this may be due to the nature of the sample and that if the experiment were to be carried out in a different geographical area such as the Bible Belt where religious ideology has social importance, then the results might be different (Adorno, 1950, p. 727). Two pretests of the F Scale in Middle Tennessee supported the contention of Adorno (Rhodes, 1956, p. 14, 234). These pretests suggested that persons with Protestant fundamentalist preferences would be more likely to

¹ This paper is based upon part of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree at Vanderbilt University, Nashville. The writer wishes to acknowledge the guidance of Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and the late Andrew F. Henry.

endorse F Scale content than persons preferring nonfundamental or liberal Protestant denominations. Therefore, the hypothesis is offered that authoritarianism varies directly with fundamentalism. An expanded discussion of reasoning which led to this hypothesis is available elsewhere (Rhodes, 1956, pp. 13-16). Since F Scale performance is not independent of socio-economic status and since the degree of religious influence may be important, it seems essential that these factors be taken into account when testing this hypothesis. Because the great majority of the subjects in the original study were from urban areas, it seems desirable to include rural versus urban residence as a factor in examining the authoritarianism-fundamentalism relationship.

It was necessary to make a number of operational definitions in order to test the hypothesis about authoritarianism and fundamentalism and to take into account the factors of influence of religious belief, socio-economic status, and rural or urban residence. These operational definitions are: 1. Authoritarianism is measured by the F Scale. 2. Fundamentalism is indicated by preference of churches and sects having fundamental theology (Church of Christ, Church of God, Cumberland Presbyterian Church, etc.) and nonfundamentalism is indicated by preference of churches with liberal or nonfundamental theology (Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregational and other churches) using criteria for classification supplied by Mayer and Pope (Mayer, 1951, pp. 304-384; Pope, 1942, pp. 122-124). 3. Influence of religious belief is indicated by subject's self evaluation, using a five-point rating from "none" to "very much" in answer to the question, "How much influence do you think your religious belief has on the way you live from day to day?" (Those who check "pretty much" or "very much" have high influence.) 4. Socio-economic status is indicated by the occupational level of the person who contributes most to the support of the subject's family. The "white-collar" occupational category includes subjects from homes where the occupation is professional, managerial, sales, or clerical. The "blue-collar" category includes those from other occupational groups including farm occupations. (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1950) 5. The "urban" category includes all subjects who attend high schools within a Standard Metropolitan Area; the "rural" category includes those who attend high schools serving small communities (less than 5,000 population) and open country areas. (Rhodes, 1956, pp. 24-31) A brief discussion of the procedure follows.

METHOD

Population. Pretest of the F Scale (Form 45) and of the Srole Scale suggested that persons with less than a high school education

have difficulty in understanding the items in these two measures. Words like "supernatural," "determination," "astrology," and "familiarity" are not in the vocabularies of these persons. The two scales, along with items about pertinent background information were administered to a population of male and female seniors in eight high schools, to total N being 1027. Four high schools include about 80 per cent of the seniors in a standard metropolitan area in Tennessee, and the other four high schools include about 80 per cent of the seniors in four town or county high schools serving communities of less than 5,000 population within 60 miles of the metropolitan area. The selection of a portion of a Tennessee population was governed by limited financial resources for going further afield and because the high incidence of fundamentalist religious bodies afforded an opportunity to test the hypothesis.

The instrument. The questionnaire consisted of the short form (Form 45) of the F Scale and the five-item Srole Scale, together with items about background. It was necessary to amend the F Scale. Specifically, the item concerning the use of Nazi officials in post-war Germany was dropped because it was not salient for these seniors who were in the second grade at the end of World War II. The item concerning homosexuals was dropped to protect school administrators from community criticism. The item about using force to preserve the American way (F Scale item 41, Form 60) was added. Four items were amended according to the practice of Eager and Smith. (Eager & Smith, 1952) Test-retest of the original F Scale items versus the revised items indicated that there was no difference in score except for slight chance fluctuation. Pretests, these revisions, and a copy of the instrument are available elsewhere. (Rhodes, 1956) Questionnaires were simultaneously administered throughout a school by home-room teachers in a normal classroom situation. Although there are shortcomings to this procedure, limitations in school time and resources precluded other alternatives.

Analysis. The F Scale scores are not normally distributed in the population according to the chi square goodness-of-fit test. ($X^2=17.79$ $p<.02$). Since this is so, and since fundamentalism is treated as an attribute, these measures do not meet the assumptions which parametric statistics require. Therefore, the zero order relationships are tested for association by means of chi square (with .05 as confidence limit). Degree of association is indicated by Tschuprow's T (Yule and Kendall, 1945, pp. 70-71) which in these comparisons is the equivalent of X^2/N divided by $\sqrt{2}$. The test for independence of the authoritarianism-fundamentalism relationship is accomplished by a form of multivariate analysis (Lazarsfeld, 1955), in which subjects are partitioned into subgroups which are homogeneous with respect to

occupational level, rural or urban school, and religious influence. The one-sided sign test is used in connection with the third-order partialing table. Each item within the F Scale is examined to see if it is related to fundamentalism; the chi square test and Tschuprow's T are employed. A condensed account of the results obtained by this method follows.

RESULTS

The general relationship between religious preference and F Scale scores. Subjects were divided into seven groups: Fundamental Protestant, Baptist, Roman Catholic, Nonfundamental Protestant, No religious preference, and Jewish preferences. Baptists make up about two-fifths of the total N, thus they were kept separate and were assumed to rank somewhere between the other two Protestant groups with respect to fundamentalism. The per cent of subjects in each category of preference who scored above the median F Scale score for all 1027 cases (4.57) is presented in Table 1. (N's, means, and standard deviations are also shown for descriptive purposes). It can be seen that Jews have the lowest F Scale scores and that fundamental Protestants have the highest scores; Baptists and Catholics are quite similar.

TABLE 1
F Scale Performance by Religious Preference

Religious preference	Per cent ^a	Mean F	Median F	Standard deviation	N
	High F	Scale score	Scale score		N
Fundamental Protestant ^b	62	4.7	4.8	.61	218
Baptist (missionary) ^b	54	4.5	4.6	.66	380
Roman Catholic	51	4.6	4.6	.65	49
Nonfundamental Protestant ^b	41	3.9	4.4	.70	283
No preference	35	4.2	4.2	.24	55
Jewish	24	3.5	4.3	.20	17
Pref. not classified ^c	28	—	—	—	25
Total population ^d	50 ^a	4.6	4.57	.68	1027

Note: Mean, Median, and < are shown but scores are not normally distributed.

^a Per cent "High F" refers to per cent of subjects who scored above the median for the total population (1027 cases).

^b Chi Square test was applied to Protestant groups separately ($\chi^2 = 21.4$, $p (\chi^2) < .001$, $T = +.13$).

^c "Preference-not-classified" group included subjects whose church could not be identified because its name was illegible or unknown to local informants, or else outside classification system (e.g. 2 Greek Orthodox church).

^d Chi Square test was applied to F scores by all preference categories (including Protestants). $\chi^2 = 36.8$, $p (\chi^2) < .001$.

The specific relationship between Protestant fundamentalism and F Scale scores. If attention is focused on differences between the three

Protestant groups, it is apparent that authoritarianism varies directly with Protestant fundamentalism ($X^2 = 21.4$, $p (X^2) < .001$, $T = +.13$) The nonfundamental Protestant category is overweighted with Methodists (68 per cent) who are more authoritarian (44 per cent above the median F Scale score) than other nonfundamental Protestants (36 per cent above median F Scale score). Likewise, the Fundamental Protestant category is overweighted with those preferring the Church of Christ (61 per cent) who are less authoritarian (54 per cent above median) than other fundamentalists (75 per cent above median F Scale score). When chi square is applied to distribution of F Scale scores within these five categories: Methodists, other nonfundamentalists, Baptists, Church of Christ persons, and other fundamentalists, then the predicted relationship is even more apparent ($X^2 = 132.9$, $p (X^2) < .001$, $T = +.28$). However, subsequent operations in this paper involve the three-category classification of Protestant preference (fundamental-Baptist-nonfundamental) in order to provide the minimum expected cell frequencies required by the chi square test.

The test for independence of the authoritarianism-fundamentalism relationship. Tests (chi squares) for association between authoritarianism and each of the test variables (urban residence, occupational level, and influence of belief) show that F Scale performance is related to occupational level ($T = -.11$); other chi square tests show that fundamentalism is related to urban residence and occupational level. (Urban residence, $T = -.27$; occupational level, $T = -.23$). Intermediate orders of partialing according to the three test variables are not presented in the interest of brevity; distribution of F Scale scores within homogeneous subgroups created by the third order of partialing are presented in Table 2.

First, one observes in the right hand margin of Table 2 that the authoritarianism-fundamentalism relationship is not independent of rural or urban residence as indicated by attendance at a rural or urban school. This relationship is attenuated in all rural groups. Also, this relationship is not independent of socio-economic status as indicated by occupational level of subject's family. Moving from top to bottom of Table 2, it is apparent that the difference in authoritarianism between fundamentalist and nonfundamentalist subjects tends to decrease as socio-economic status and urban influence decrease.

When influence of belief is added as a control factor, one finds that the difference between fundamentalists and nonfundamentalists still tends to decrease as status and urban influence decrease among those subjects who indicate high influence of religious belief. However, in the groups where influence of belief is low, the authoritarianism-fundamentalism relationship continues to hold in the four groups

TABLE 2

Percentage of High F Scale Scores Within Subgroups Which are Homogeneous as to Fundamentalism, Occupational Level, Residence and Influence of Religious Belief*

Fundamentalism, Rural or Urban School and Occup. Level	Influence of rel. belief		Total
	Low	High	
Urban school—"White-collar" occup.			
Fundamentalist preference	50**	(2)	62 (29)
Baptist preference	33	(18)	50 (115)
Nonfundamentalist preference	23	(13)	31 (128)
Urban school—"Blue-collar" occup.			
Fundamentalist preference	89	(9)	70 (47)
Baptist preference	39	(28)	53 (165)
Nonfundamentalist preference	38	(8)	47 (57)
Rural school—"White-collar" occup.			
Fundamentalist preference	60	(5)	50 (22)
Baptist preference	40	(5)	50 (20)
Nonfundamentalist preference	25	(4)	40 (30)
Rural school—"Blue-collar" occup.			
Fundamentalist preference	58	(19)	58 (100)
Baptist preference	60	(20)	52 (60)
Nonfundamentalist preference	38	(16)	53 (55)
Urban school—No. occup. information			
Fundamentalist preference	100	(2)	100 (8)
Baptist preference	0	(2)	64 (11)
Nonfundamentalist preference	100	(1)	80 (5)
Rural school—No occup. information			
Fundamentalist preference	50	(4)	67 (12)
Baptist preference	100	(4)	67 (9)
Nonfundamentalist preference	0	(2)	62 (8)

* "High F Scale scores" equals scores above median F Scale score (4.57) for 1027 cases.

** Parentheses indicate N of subgroup.

where occupational level and rural or urban location are known. Although this finding is consistent with the previous findings that subjects with no religious preference tend to have low scores on the E Scale (Sanford, 1950), one would not give much weight to this finding given the small number of cases. The next step in the sequence of investigation was to test individual F Scale items for association with Protestant fundamentalism.

The relationship between individual F Scale items and fundamentalism. Responses of subjects in the three religious preference categories are examined for each of the twenty-eight F Scale items. Separate distributions are obtained for urban "white-collar" and urban

"blue-collar" groups. Responses of rural subjects were not tabulated because of the lack of relationship reported above. The chi square test was applied to distributions of responses in order to see if association exceeded chance expectation. Twelve of the twenty-eight items vary with religious preference of "white-collar" subjects, but only three items vary with preference of "blue-collar" subjects. These items (with direction and degree of association) are:

WHITE-COLLAR SUBJECTS

If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off. (T = +.13)

The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to our nation than the artist and the college teacher. (T = +.12)

Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question. (T = ?.14)

Science has its place but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind. (T = +.15)

No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative. (T = +.15)

Indecent attacks on women and children deserve more than imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped or worse. (T = +.21)

Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feeble-minded people. (T = +.12)

When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things. (T = +.15)

Someday it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things. (T = +.13)

Wars and social trouble may someday be ended by a fire or flood that will destroy the whole world. (T = +.13)

Human nature being what it is there must always be war and conflict. (T = +.15)

America is getting so far from the true American way of life that force may be necessary to restore it. (T = ?.16)

BLUE-COLLAR SUBJECTS

Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering. (T = +.17)

When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things. (T = +.14)

Nowadays, more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private. (T = +.20)

Again, the degree of association reported for each of these items is small, but in each case, it represents a substantial proportion of the maximum value of T which could be obtained with skewed marginals and six-cell tables. Baptists are more likely to agree with two items ("supernatural power" and "American way of life") than fundamentalists; therefore, the sign is indicated by a question mark. These results lead to a qualification that only some F scale items are related

to Protestant fundamental preference and that the relationship is more apparent for subjects in the "white-collar" group.

DISCUSSION

One among a number of possible links between authoritarianism and fundamentalism is provided by a trait of fundamentalism, pre-millennial pessimism. Subsequent analysis has shown that F Scale items which involve this trait are associated with fundamentalism. Two examples are: "Human nature being what it is there will always be war and conflict"; and "Wars and social trouble may someday be ended by fire or flood that will destroy the whole world."

Another link is provided by certain Puritan qualities of fundamentalism. These qualities include asceticism and *denial* of aggressive impulses. Such qualities could lead the fundamentalist to accept the items pertaining to the desire to hurt a relative, indecent attacks on women, and getting rid of immoral people. The asceticism and pre-millennial pessimism may be related to acceptance of the item, "Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering." Another quality of fundamentalism is the rejection of rational and scientific attempts to better conditions in this world. Fundamentalist groups are "anti-missionary" to the extent they eschew pragmatic attempts to understand and alleviate personal and social problems in this life. If a liberal, rational humanitarianism is part of what subjects attending nonfundamental churches are taught, then it could account for rejection of F Scale items concerning science and personal problems. Whether or not these are *the* links which relate fundamental preference and F Scale content remains a problem for future investigation.

The data presented here lead to the conclusion that association between authoritarianism and fundamentalism is not independent of indexes of socio-economic status and rural residence. The difference between fundamental and nonfundamental subjects tends to decrease as status and urban influence decrease. Although there are no data available, it is possible that this difference is less because differences between fundamental and nonfundamental churches lessen as the character of the churches becomes more rural and lower in status.

Three things emerge from this study. First, the attitudes of an authoritarian character (relating to ethnocentrism and prejudice) expressed by high school subjects are not independent of religious preference. Second, contrary to the contention of some psychologists and psychoanalysts, the F Scale performances of high school students are not independent of such "sociological" variables as socioeconomic status and rural or urban residence. Third, there is more variation among Protestants than between Protestants and Catholics with re-

spect to authoritarianism. This last finding suggests that in this area of investigation, and possibly in others, the time has come for the social scientist to explore alternative means of classifying religious orientation other than the tired old trichotomy: Catholic, Protestant, Jew.

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GROUP DYNAMICS IN THE EVALUATION OF CLASSES

Grace K. Pratt

College teaching in the future will need to meet the challenge of more efficient evaluation, as long as grading plays so important a part in determining student progress. The need for more adequate evaluation has resulted already in a growing quantity of "objective" tests by which to measure the correspondence of student knowledge to facts, in more essay examinations to trace evidence of an "unfolding" self, and in "problematic situations" in increasing variety. Do these fully meet the requirements? Can these methods assure satisfactory appraisal of rapidly mounting quantities of students in terms of their qualitative differences? Are there other means by which to deal with larger groups of students and to ascertain satisfactorily qualitative distinctions between them?

The self-evaluation technique has been employed in group sessions in order to determine the achievements of individuals, of the group as a cooperative unit, and of the instructor as an agent of communication. Although the method is useful in the preceding three ways, preliminary experimentation has shown the writer that individual quality of performance can be evaluated efficiently in a group context, also.

What justification is there for evaluating the individual in a group situation? A group context should maximize the following qualities of the student: to function in life-like conditions; to think without rehearsal; to communicate related information; to test his own ideas; to weigh opposing evidence; to demonstrate ability to meet his peers adequately in terms of the problem; to manifest his own developing point of view. Most educators seek to develop these qualities.

HOW IS THIS PROCEDURE CARRIED OUT?

The writer has tried group final evaluations in Ethics, Human Relations, and Philosophy of Education. In each case several individual papers were required during the term. On each occasion, structured group procedure was used as part of the instructional method throughout the course. Thus individual work had been required and the students had, to a greater or less extent, analyzed the dynamics implementing their group procedure. In each instance the groups voted to have such a form of final evaluation.

The evaluation was carried out with the class as a whole when the total registration did not exceed twen'y. When the registration was higher several smaller groups were used. A discussion problem was formulated in advance by the group with the guidance of the professor and the students prepared for it individually. In so doing, some students discussed it with others in order to clarify their own

thinking. Such problems need to be general in statement and yet allow for particular application well fortified with specific knowledge.¹ The evaluation session, in each case, was about forty-five minutes. In one small group of six, for example, the evaluation session was one hour during which time there were 152 different contributions, ranging from 21 to 32 per person. The leader, who had been elected by the group, stated the problem, kept the discussion moving, and interjected appropriate comments of his own. The individual students utilized the primary form of group method with which they were familiar. Each individual evidenced a wealth of factual knowledge gathered carefully from books, lectures, authorities, previous discussions, and in some cases individual research experiences. All of this had been subjected to discriminating thought on the part of the individual. This material was brought to the group problem as data which they tried to communicate clearly. At this point the distinction of the group evaluation method was apparent. The questions the students asked each other, the probing for particular instance, specificity of evidence, and the actual challenge each had to meet, made the student conscious, as he had not been before, of the defensibility or weakness of what he maintained. Additional thinking, evaluation, and re-evaluation began to take place as the leader sought to bring the group toward some statement of agreement, disagreement, and area for further study.

WHAT IS THE PROFESSOR'S ROLE IN THIS APPRAISAL?

In each of the above mentioned evaluation sessions, she attempted to keep a double sort of record with abbreviations of her own. A large sociogram marked, and where possible numbered, was kept to assure fair and adequate participation. She used this to help her interpret her observations at the half-way mark. She also listed student statements, and noted who introduced various phases of the problem considered. Notations in vertical columns, indicated what the student had said with symbols for its quality. Evidence was noted of the individuals who sought to help the group achieve clarity of agreement and disagreement; also of the areas suggested for further exploration. This in general describes the procedure, although there were variations each time it was used.

What problems does this evaluation procedure present? Are the problems surmountable? Is this form of evaluation efficient? First, it is obvious that no professor, without excellent secretarial training can possibly record every word of each student. To meet this prob-

¹ For example, in an overview course in Philosophy of Education, one such question was, "Which philosophical theories would you like to try out, and why have you chosen them and rejected others?"

lem, important items can be prepared on a check list of pre-determined criteria. The task of transcribing the actual discussion can be facilitated if there is available the services of a secretary or by means of a tape recorder. The writer believes that she has been able to record enough data in each case to evaluate adequately individuals as well as the whole group. If tapes are used, they could, of course, be filed and labeled to indicate student progress.

Second, the more introverted type of student may feel inadequate to such verbal challenge. Although no conclusive evidence can be drawn from a few trials, the writer noted that many of the "quieter" students voted for this type of evaluation and that they participated as well as the others. Awareness on the part of the leader, and the professor's report at the half-way mark (given as an observer report) assured fairly equally distributed participation. The student, who was less verbally inclined at the beginning of the term, was strengthened noticeably in this respect through use of the group method as part of instruction throughout the term. The use during the term of written projects and papers, of course, is in no way precluded by this type of final evaluation.

Third, and most formidable, is the problem of convincing administrators that this method of evaluation deserves consideration. The method does provide an efficient form of evaluating individual students. The procedure has a living context which requires the clear communications of pertinent ideas and the weighing of opposing viewpoints. In every instance the writer found that the students brought into their discussions all of the major theories studied during preceding class sessions. She found evidence of considerable reflective thinking, of both an individual and group nature. The students' discussions evidenced numerous applications which indicated thoughtful consideration of underlying theory as well as a developing point of view. It is suggested to those who may want to use the procedure described above, to record their results carefully, in order to collect supporting data to meet the challenges of skeptical administrators.

College teachers of the future will need new methods to evaluate the growing student population, each of whose members will bring his particular qualities to enrich his college class, his special interest group, and his culture group. The appraisal procedure described above is one of the methods which holds promise of rewarding effectiveness in the situations in which it has been tried. It has further possibilities and needs additional implementation by those who believe that it does afford a procedure for efficient and competent evaluation.

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CAMPING IN RELATION TO CHILD GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT*

Dan W. Dodson

Camping should be sufficiently well established by now that it can take a mature look at itself. Undoubtedly it had its beginnings in the desire of leadership to preserve the pioneer values of America. Many of the early leaders were people who were charmed by the romantic era of our history related to the frontier, and coveted for the youth of the land the opportunity to experience some of the kind of living which characterized that period of our national life. In some instances there was a feeling that such camping for boys was a part of preparation for army life. Still others there were, and are, whose values are rooted in the rural heritage of the country, and who believe that all children should have the experience of living close to nature. Luther Burbank has been quoted as saying:

Every child should have mud pies, grasshoppers, water bugs, tadpoles, frogs, mud-turtles, elderberries, wild strawberries, acorns, chestnuts, trees to climb, brooks to wade in, water lilies, woodchucks, bats, bees, butterflies, various animals to pet, hay fields, pine cones, rocks to roll, sand, snakes, huckleberries and hornets; and any child who has been deprived of these has been deprived of the best part of his education.

In modern urban living the reasons for camping have changed in many regards. Much has been made of camping as a way of getting children out of crowded cities during the school vacation period, and affording them some opportunity to spend the time in an environment less fraught with the normal hazards of crowded urban living, such as gang fights, depredations against property, and risks of accidents on busy streets. Some have seen camping as a way of providing a first class baby sitting service for children to get them "out of the hair" of the mother and father while they are on school vacation. Others see the summer camp as a chance to provide emotional "weaning" of children from dependence on mothers and fathers—for some children an excellent objective, I might add. Then there are others who see camping as a means of removing children from environments where their horizons are provincial, and giving them a chance to see a "world beyond." In some instances these experiences have been the difference between a child who had little motivation and one who becomes a highly motivated person. Some of the metamorphoses have been thrilling indeed. In some other instances the camp is thought of as a therapy situation where all the traumas which family living have built into children are in some manner treated.

* An address delivered to the Camping Section of The Community Council of Greater N. Y. at Gracie Mansion on May 9, 1960.

Whatever the expectations have been, it is significant that to the present there is little which has been crystallized as a theory and philosophy of camping. Where does it fit in the planned experiences of the life cycle of the child? What is its contribution to growth and development of the child? It is all right for public relations purposes to advertise camping as a place where children "have fun," but somewhere, some time in the development of camping there should be a more systematic appraisal of its contribution to the growth and development of the child. If camping is ever to take its rightful place in institutional life of America there is going to have to be a better rationalization for it than what exists at the present. To be charitable, at least one should say that camping's popularity has outrun its capacity to rationalize its place in the scheme of child growth and development.

ISSUES IN CAMPING

What are the issues in camping? Perhaps others would list them differently, but among the others there must be included the following:

1. *What is the relation between private and public leadership in camping?*

America is a place where we give great lip service to private enterprise. However, carried too far, private leadership creates the evils which all monopolies, either public or private, tend to produce, i.e., lack of innovation, rigidity to change, and stultification in general. There is at present no yardstick against which to measure private camping, because the mushrooming of the private camps has tended to choke off the development of the public. The private camping program, despite the excellent volunteer effort made through the various agencies of our community, can never meet the camping needs of this city. This is not to say they do not perform an important function; it is not to say that thousands of children are not blessed because of them, for they are. It is merely to say that in the years ahead the formula through which camping needs are to be met will have to be altered radically. There will still be a place for the private camps, but the public will have to take their place alongside the private. The private will always afford a program for those parents who can afford more and desire a richer program for their children. There will always be a place for those camps which are private which wish to experiment and develop pioneer programs. There will always be the need for the private camp to do the yardstick job which perhaps the public cannot do.

If one examines the needs of children in this city, however, for summer programs, he is impressed with the number of children who are not cared for through private programs. Last summer I took my

class in human relations to the Lower East Side to the neighborhood where we are working with the University Settlement House and we counted the children who were on one block on one day, and attempted to find out what was happening to them on the day previous to our visit. The block is bounded by Eldridge, Rivington, Stanton and Allen Streets. Two sides of the street are almost completely industrial and hotel type residences for adults. Hence the figures I am about to give are in reality for the houses on two sides of one block. On Allen and Eldridge we found 150 children on July 23, 1959, who were under 16 years of age. In addition there were six on Rivington Street. Of the 156 total, 52 were below the age of six, hence their activities are not included in the remainder of this report.

Of the 104 between the ages of six and sixteen, 48 were boys and 54 were girls. 37 of the 54 families were Puerto Rican and 80 of the children were of these families. There were 24 of the children of the total group whose ages were six and seven. Of the 24, only five were involved in any kind of supervised recreational activity. Eight were reported to have been home all day, seven played on the street without supervision, and one played on the street all day without supervision.

There were 29 children ages eight and nine. Only seven were engaged in any kind of recreational activity. Twelve of this group stayed home all day—most of them watching television. Two of this group belonged to a family where all the children stayed home all day, cared for by a twelve year old sister who left them in the afternoon to visit "their sick mother who was in the hospital." Two were on the street all day and four others were on the street most of the day.

Thirty-three children fell in the ten through twelve year group. Nine were engaged in some kind of organized recreation in the neighborhood at some time during the day. Eleven were home all day long, while seven others were at home in the morning and on the street in the afternoon. Of the 14 children ages 13 to 16, four were involved in neighborhood recreational facilities during the day. Six were home all day. Many of the families reported that their children are never allowed on the street without an adult. Some of the children have been told to keep off the nearby play street, that it was only for children living on that street. For many of the children the tenement flat is a bastion behind which the family withdraws to protect itself from neighbors whom they fear.

I have recited this inadequate survey to indicate the problems with which many slum families are dealing. When school is out there is nothing for the children to do, and nothing for the parents to do with them. Many of the parents do not understand camps, and the advantages they offer. If they did, most of them could not afford it for

their children. This makes them dependent upon charity. Happily, a large number are cared for through our excellent organizations which make camperships available. This does not meet the need, however. While there is no way of determining to what extent the block we studied was typical, there is no reason to believe it is better or worse than a large number of others in comparable neighborhoods. In fact, one would expect it to be a better situation than most, since the University Settlement House is just across the street from it.

Truly the problem of extending camping for all the children of all the people is one of the tasks ahead. Through private auspices a wonderful job has been done in these past years demonstrating what camping can do for children. The programs have been diverse, as they should have been under private auspices. Has not the time come, however, when we should begin to extend the camping experience as a systematic part of the growth and development experience of all children? Must this not inevitably mean the development of public facilities?

2. The issue of economic grouping

A second issue is that of economic selectivity in camping. Many of the private camps are so expensive that only children of the wealthy may avail themselves of them. Some of them are so plush they become junior country clubs where children are pampered through a summer season. Others are short term camps for the poor. These are set up in such a manner as to accommodate the maximum number on the meagre budgets which are available. In between is a large segment of the population which is left out. Were it not for scouting and comparable types of relatively inexpensive short term experiences this group would be badly neglected.

3. Racial selectivity

A third issue is that of racial selectivity in camping. Since our neighborhoods are as segregated as they are, it becomes all the more imperative that our more broadly selected kinds of experiences such as camping be utilized as far as possible to compensate for this lack of knowledge of one another across lines of race. The private camp is an excellent opportunity for such planned mixing. In the years past many of the camps afforded assistance to some Negro and other minority children to make it possible for their dominant group children to have the chance to meet peoples who were different in color to themselves. In these more recent years there has been a steady growth in the number of minority families who can afford these experiences for their children. Hence, today, some camps are beginning to fear that if they take too many minority group children they will ruin the reputation of the camp. Some are talking about quotas to keep the

minority group low enough in proportion that they will not threaten the status of the camp.

Those camps which have a public responsibility for the lower income groups are in the dilemma of whether to hold some places open for the majority children to make it possible for the minority children to have some contacts with majority group members. If they do it means they must deny some more worthy minority youth of the camp experience in order to make places for those of the majority. This is called "benign quotas." However the problem is conceived, the issue is one to which we must give more time and attention.

4. *The issue of religious grouping*

Today there is great pressure to force all peoples under the umbrellas of faith identity. Since our three major faiths are Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, this means we are under pressure to program to reinforce the interests of these institutional groups. Camp leadership is torn between the summer experience being used to develop religious identification on the one hand and the fear that if program does not reinforce religious faith, the experience might weaken the faith of the child. Hence, not infrequently children who relate to each other as citizens in camp through the week are parted at the time of worship. Those who do not conform to one of the three major faiths is made to feel he is a second class citizen. Sometimes the issue is presented at meal time when the Jewish children are ushered off to the Kosher tables, and the Christian children to the others. In these instances the umbrellas of faith difference become coercive and not permissive. I have no answer to this problem, except to delineate it as one to which we have no solution at the present.

5. *The last issue I do not know how to describe except to say:*

"What is the role of the camp in developing citizenship in a democracy?" This issue has many ramifications. The genius of the summer camp was that it allowed children to be removed from the community sufficiently that adults would allow them to become involved in self-directed activities. This could be allowed because whatever mistakes were made in group self-direction would not be of too serious consequences. In addition, there were no examinations to take at the end of the camping season, hence the child could learn as his curiosity led him. There was then little work for standards which were basically false, such as characterize so many classrooms. As camping has become popular there seem to be evidences that this fine climate of camp life is becoming threatened. One hears increasingly of the amount of regimentation, of the authoritarian planned day for the child. As camping becomes a big business, one hears increasingly of program planned by the pattern of how to get govern-

ment surplus, or how to mass-train counsellors for mass types of programs, rather than program being designed primarily from the needs of the children. One suspects, as camping recruitment becomes more competitive for the upper income group child, that there is more resort to building loyalties to "good old Camp Hawkeye," than to providing honest program for needs.

Another theory which has always intrigued me is the inordinate amount of emphasis placed on conservation and other such activities, which of course are fine, but carried out only in remote communities, and only with regard to natural resources such as trees. Without disparaging this effort, and as fine as it is, I cannot understand for the life of me why it is not possible to find ways to involve youths meaningfully, in tasks of conservation, and in training in citizenship, right in their own communities. Why do we have to take children away from the worst slums of the world to train them in conservation and other such aspects of citizenship?

NEW FRONTIERS IN CAMPING

Where are we going with camping? If I may be allowed to use the crystal ball for a few minutes I would say the following:

1. There will be a greater relationship between the planned experiences within the community and the camp in the future. We have just begun the exploration of the role of the camp as an educational arm of the school. There is no reason why trips by the week, or on week-ends, could not complement the program of the school. I know one private school which plans a week-end trip for the new high school class each fall. When they have finished the weekend experience the children are rather accepting of each other, and acquainted in a way it would take months to accomplish in regular class work. Other schools take children to study science and conservation. There is no reason why many of these camps which are nearer the city could not be used almost constantly to a great growth advantage of children.

2. There will be a greater use of camp facilities in leadership training of youth groups in local communities. Increasingly places like the old Harriman Estate, the Gould Estate, and others are being turned into places where education, business and industry leadership retreat, usually at company expense I might add, to spend some time removed in planning, training, and deepening consensus on matters of policy and strategy. As we learn to involve youths in affairs of the community, and coax them into citizenship roles, as youths, there will be increased need for year 'round facilities for such involvements. Think what it would mean, for instance, if the student Government Organization leadership of the schools could have a week of retreat

each semester where they could really come to grips with the problems of high school life in New York City. One could see the time when leadership sufficiently involved in this way could tip the climate of some of these difficult schools and develop a new breed of student. Of course, I realize that some organizations are doing this now, but I believe it should be expanded enormously.

3. You will perhaps think me crazy for what I am going to say now, but I believe the trend of the future will be away from "Familism," "togetherness," and even "co-educational" activity. When one stops to think he realizes that while the strengths of family life are apparent, the greater traumas to personality are also because of inter-familial relationships. Mothers are the greatest factors in wholesome personality development, but they are also the greatest traumatizing agent. Finding the balance between those things which strengthen family life, and those which destroy it, is not easy. I am impressed with the Puerto Rican population by the fact that a close relation between immediate parents and children is not so important, *if the larger family and the community give the child a sense of belonging.*

Today also there is some feeling that in no small measure the problems of our day are created by the lack of clarity about what are the roles of the separate sexes in our culture. With early marriages girls and boys tend to become parents before they learn to be men and women. The Western movie and television heroes are not men who help the women with the dishes and stay home on Mother's Night Out to be baby sitter and changer of diapers. In many cultures the rituals require that the boys go live in the huts with the bachelors at a stage of puberty. Here they learn the role of the male. In our earlier years the son worked with the father in the fields or wherever, to learn from him the role of the male. In our society what with so many women teachers, and co-educational activities, there is only rarely the opportunity for a boy to relate meaningfully to another male. In like measure the girl faces the confusion of role.

In woman's new found freedom there is tremendous ambivalence concerning the female role. In a sense the closer woman approaches equality the more confused the role becomes. Today, in the arena of sex relationships we are searching for the innovations in social relations which will delineate the fine line of distinction between equality and alikeness or sameness. Biology being what it is, the sexes will never be the same, we all hope. It remains to be seen whether two groups can be different, permanently, and one not be subservient to the other. Obviously, the validation of roles calls for interaction between the two groups to test out new relationships, but on the other hand there is also the need for some time, off and apart, to search

for clarity of identity and authenticity of selfhood for both sexes. Camping has a great opportunity for experimentation in this area of growth and development.

4. I have not mentioned the work camp to this point. It has many potentialities. There is great danger that it shall come to be thought of as a reform institution. The C. C. C. demonstrated however, its usefulness as a means of assisting many youths through a troubled era of maturation. I see no reason why such camps might not become a substitute for military service. Such service could be given in summer seasons and could enlist non-physically fit youths the same as the fit. There are probably many other such uses for such establishments.

THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE

What of the more immediate challenge? The first big issue is the numbers served. One cannot examine the figures I quoted earlier and not feel sickened at the likelihood that in our day of unparalleled prosperity, 50 children on every side of every block of comparable sections of the city are literally imprisoned in these old law tenements. It is no wonder that there were serious gang fights in that neighborhood before the summer was over. The second big issue is that of quality of program. The country affords sunshine and fresh air. Man, however, does not live by bread alone. Many of these children have never had a relationship to an authority figure who accepted them. Let me covet for us all that the summer's leadership will make the maximum impact in drawing out of every child with whom we work that which is his—unique and creative to him alone. My wife complained one morning recently about the birds singing so early to wake us up. I was reminded that singing in the early morning was a part of self-fulfillment for the bird. If he were hatched and reared so he never saw another of his kind he would still sing. Man is not so created that these specific behaviors will be repeated by the generations without learning. On the other hand he is created with almost infinite capacities for adaptation. What his fulfillment is depends materially on his fellow man, and the institutions of his society. May this summer for all, workers and campers, be a period in which life is "filled full" and conceptions of self stretched to greater dimensions than each would have thought possible because of our experiences together.

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OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM¹

Jerry L. L. Miller

INTRODUCTION

The educational system as a supplier of services has two commonly expressed purposes: training intelligent citizens and preparing its clientele for earning a living. This dual aim, plus a variety of philosophical orientations, has resulted in a split among educators in regard to the "real" purpose of the educational system. It is not the goal of this paper to discuss the various aspects of this argument since this has been done in the form of sermons, pronouncements, and whimsy in other places. It is the purpose of this paper, however, to examine the relationship between the educational system and the selection of a vocation, in order to make some of the features of the educational organizations which have effects on occupational choice more explicit.

It is recognized by most sociologists and educators that the amount and type of education that a person receives is closely related to the type of occupation which he enters. This relationship is due largely to the entry requirements of jobs. To be considered for a vacancy an individual must possess certain technical requirements, a greater or lesser amount of experience, and possibly some non-functional requirements, such as being a white Protestant male. Possession of the technical requirements is closely related to the amount and type of education which has been received. The educational system also, in some cases, selects on non-functional characteristics, effectively barring some individuals from receiving the training required to fill the technical requirements.

The technical training offered by various educational institutions is diverse. Therefore, the progress through the educational system requires that some choice in relation to the type of training, and hence, the type of occupation, be made by persons passing through the system. During the process of being educated, an individual is faced at several points with a decision to continue or drop out of the system. In addition to this, if the decision is to continue, then the direction of the educational course must be decided. For example, between grade school and high school, or between junior high school and senior high school, a student is faced with a number of alternatives. He may: 1) quit school if he is old enough; 2) he may take

¹ Revision of a paper read at the Southern Sociological Society meetings, April 7-9, 1960, Atlanta, Ga. These data were collected by the Institute for Social Research, Florida State University, as a part of a larger study of the educational and occupational plans of college seniors which was sponsored by the Southern Regional Education Board.

a vocational course in agriculture, business, shop or home economics; 3) he may take a college preparatory course if he thinks that he might go to college; or 4) he may elect to make no decision and take a general course. Likewise, arrival at other points places alternative courses before the individual from which he must select a course of action. In choosing one of the alternatives, the individual also makes a commitment as to the type of occupation he will ultimately choose. One function of the educational system in occupational choice is that of providing situations which require occupational decisions to be made.

The educational system is structured in such a way that decisions required by the student may be aided. This aid is of two general types: that set up for the specific purpose of counselling, with specialized personnel, and those who are general advisors in a number of circumstances, with personnel primarily specializing in other areas than counselling.

In general the specialists are concerned with the assessment of the ability of the student to cope with a course of studies leading to the occupation which he has chosen and/or the similarity of his interests, values or attitudes with people who are in the occupation. The second type of advisement is usually in the form of personal contact of one sort or another between the teachers, deans, or counselors and the student. This contact may be in a class room situation, in the advisor-advisee relationship, or in a more informal and unanticipated manner in the form of informal talks. A second way in which the educational system has had an effect on occupational choice is in providing for the possibility of personal or impersonal advice as to what occupations are suitable for the student.

Regardless of how a student arrives at his choice of an occupation, he must carry out certain steps in relation to the educational system to implement his choice. Failing this, he must change either or both his occupational or educational plans. The progress which an individual has made and that which he hopes to make can be compared with his occupational goals, and it can be determined if his educational progress and educational and occupational goals are complementary. If they are complementary then the system is effectively injecting reality factors into the choice of occupations. A third effect of the educational system on occupational choice, then, is the imposition of a reality test on the choices which have been made.

Three functions of the educational system for occupational choice have been listed: 1) it provides a motive for making a choice; 2) it makes available aid for the chooser in making his choice; and 3) it provides a continuing reality check for the choices which have been

made. It has been maintained so far only that these functions are some of the functions which are possible.

It is also well to note at this point that all of these functions, at least until recently, were on the latent or unintended level. Recently, the guidance of occupational choices has become one of the expressed purposes in the educational system, but this function is not yet universal on all levels, or even within various levels of the educational system. The remainder of the functions seem to be unintended results of the institutional structure of education.

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to the analysis of these functions as they were evidenced in a group of college seniors.

PROCEDURE

The data upon which this paper is based were obtained from a survey of 225 college seniors in three universities in Florida. The sample under consideration consisted of 75 seniors from each of three universities. The variety of courses offered by the three schools gave a broad representation of occupations chosen, and presumably, circumstances leading to these choices.

FINDINGS

Providing pressure for choice. Choice of an occupation is not necessarily a requirement for graduation from college, in fact, eight (5.4%) of the senior males were undecided as to what occupation they would enter. The remaining 94.6% did choose occupations. This leaves the question of how closely related in time the educational and occupational choices are for these students.

The indices which were chosen to be indicative of this relationship were the time of choice of a college major and the time of choice of an occupation. Unfortunately, it was impossible in many cases to ascertain the sequence of these choices, but it was possible to see roughly how closely in time these events occurred.

If the time of choice of major and the time of choice of an occupation are classified as occurring either before or after college entry, then there are four possible combinations of these two events: 1) both occupation and major could be chosen before college entry; 2) both occupation and major could be chosen after college entry; 3) occupation could be chosen before and major after college entry; and 4) occupation could be chosen after and major before college entry. If decisions related to educational progress are related to occupational choice (more specifically if the choice of a major is related to occupational choice) then only two, numbers 1 and 2, or the possibilities should appear in the data. On the other hand, if progress through the educational system is unrelated to occupational

choice, then the distribution of the times of choices of majors and occupations should be randomly divided among the four possibilities. The distribution of the students shown in Table 1 indicates that there is a significant relationship between time of choice of major and occupation for both sexes.

TABLE 1.

Percent of students as to time of choice of occupations
and college major, by sex

MAJOR CHOSEN	OCCUPATION CHOSEN	
	Before College MALES ^a (N=147)	During College
Before College	19.0	14.3
During College	10.2	56.5
FEMALES ^b (N=70)		
Before College	38.6	8.6
During College	7.1	45.7

a. chi square significant at .001 level. c=39

b. chi square significant at .001 level. c=56

The provision for advisors. The second function of the educational system, that of providing counselling for occupational choice, must be examined in two ways. Since vocational counselling is a recognized function of the educational system in some areas, one of the ways which bears looking into is the efficiency at which this manifest function operates. A second way of looking at the function of advisement is in terms of the operation of the faculty in helping to establish occupational goals.

In attempting to assess the efficiency of the operation of the formal giving of advice provided by the educational system, it must be recognized that access to this advice is limited. In most cases the use of these services is optional to the student, and it seems unlikely that those seeking this service are representative of the general college student population. In some institutions those who are having difficulties in their studies are routinely referred to the guidance services for consultation and evaluation. This leads to one group who have access to formal advice being selected from those who are failing in the educational system.

In the sample, 6.3% mentioned guidance personnel as being of some importance in the choice of a major, and 2.2% mentioned guidance personnel as being of some importance in the choice of an occupation. Certainly there is no apparent competition to give

advice to the students since 30.9% of the seniors said that no one influenced them in their choice of occupation. It would seem that the facilities for formal guidance are not reaching their potential customers effectively, or that the customers are unwilling to acknowledge or fail to recognize the influence of these personnel.

A pressing question seems to be, are the students receiving vocational advice from people in the system who are not hired for this purpose? Certainly faculty members, as sources of advice about occupations, have an advantage which is not shared by the formal counsellors. In most cases academic advisors must be seen in order to register for college classes. This makes the potential to influence greater for the faculty than for the vocational counsellors. In line with this greater potential field for giving advice, it was found that about one-fourth of the seniors listed the faculty as being an important influence in their choice of an occupation, and approximately the same number mentioned the faculty as being important in their choice of a major. Since exposure to this source of influence is something in the case of a universal experience for students, the question as to whom the faculty member is most likely to influence arises. A plausible speculation might be that the faculty member might seek out the good students, and might be sought out by the poor students. Another suggestion might be that those students who have no ready access to other sources of counselling familiar with the college situation might be more disposed to seek out college teachers for advice.

Table 2 shows the percent of students by ACE percentile who mentioned the faculty as most important in the choice of an occupation. Apparently the faculty is more influential among the students who have less ability. This is more clear in considering those 30th percentile or below who were influenced by the faculty. Here 28% of the males and 25% of the females reported being influenced by the faculty in their choice of an occupation.

TABLE 2

Percent of students influenced by faculty in the choice of an occupation by ACE Percentile.

Sex	ACE PERCENTILE	
	Above 50th Percentile	Below 50th Percentile
Male ^a	10.4	26.4
Female ^b	14.3	16.7

a. Difference in proportion significant at the .02 level
 b. Not significant

It can be concluded that the faculty is most effective in advising those who are below the average on ACE scores.

The amount of education of the parents had little effect on whether a faculty member was mentioned as being influential in the choice of a major, but in the choice of an occupation, college faculty were mentioned by approximately 19% of those whose parents had no college education and by approximately 11% of those who had at least one parent with some college education. This would seem to support the idea of differential influence by ability of other sources to advise.

In addition to this there was a systematic difference in the importance of the faculty in the choice of an occupation between males whose fathers were in different occupational groupings. This relationship is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Percent of students influenced by faculty in the choice of an occupation by father's occupation.

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SEX	
	Male ^a	Female ^b
Blue Collar	26.5%	23.1%
White Collar	15.0%	10.5%
Professional	11.5%	23.5%

a. Differences in proportion between blue collar and white collar and professional groups significant at .05 level.

b. Not significant.

These data point to the conclusion that the faculty is a relatively important source of influence, and that this influence is given or solicited by males, at least, more where the families are not so well equipped to give occupational advice. Further, there is a selective effect of intelligence operating among the males who recognize this influence. In general, this source of influence for occupational choice for the males seems to be serving in lieu of parents as a source of advice, and is also serving those who find ability to be a problem in pursuit of their occupational or educational aspirations.

For the females, the operation of this function of the educational system appears to be very irregular. This calls for some comment. In this age of enlightened equality of the sexes, it might be assumed that occupational goals of men and women might be the same, and, therefore, the function of the educational system for males and females would also be the same. There are a number of things which would deny the latter statement, particularly in the South where

the emancipated woman is still relatively rare. A glance at the proportion of women in various occupations as compared to the proportion of men might indicate that the talents of women are more restricted than those of men. This restriction effectively limits the number of occupations which a woman can choose to a relatively small number, particularly when the woman is a college graduate. This means that women are better equipped to choose their occupations early and that their parents, regardless of their educational or occupational backgrounds, can be more familiar with the alternative occupations available to college women. A second factor in the pattern observed in the sample is the fact that this group of females is highly selective in terms of the freshmen women who started their college careers four years earlier. One might be tempted to offer the suggestion that the females not in the marriage market and the very dedicated (not a mutually exclusive classification) make up a sizeable proportion of the women college graduates. Being dedicated to an occupation makes it unlikely that vocational counselling will be sought. Another factor which might be of some importance is that all of these women had expectations of being married, and the majority of them thought they would marry within three years of their graduation. This tended to release them from the necessity of choosing a lifetime occupation. This effectively limits the necessity of making occupational decisions except perhaps for an insurance measure. It may be concluded for both sexes that the educational system does serve the function of providing sources of vocational counselling. For the males there are systematic differences in the way this advice is recognized.

Checking on reality. The third function of the educational system under consideration at this time is that of being a check on reality for the students. It is possible to outline several possible paths to occupations which lead through the educational system and which can be classified as "reasonable" or "unreasonable" according to whether the educational and occupational choices are compatible or incompatible.

There are two basic types of college training — training which prepares the student for a specific type of occupation (including vocational training) and that which does not prepare him for a specific occupation. Included in the latter classification one can find two types of students: those who are in pre-professional training, and those who are taking a liberal education with no intention of entering a professional school. It is also possible to classify occupations as to the degree to which they specify the amount and type of education required to enter the occupation. One type which can be dis-

tinguished is the occupation requiring a high degree of specialized knowledge and a specific period of training. Another type specifies a limited amount of specific education and in general stipulates the type but not the content of course work. The educational requirements of the first type of education tends to be set by licensing requirements, as in medicine or engineering. The educational requirements of the second type are set by the companies hiring the graduates, as in business administration. A third type of occupation in relation to educational requirements generally specifies only the amount of education required rather than the type of education. Insurance sales is an example of this type of occupation. It might be noted that the occupations included in this type are some which have been upgraded in their educational requirements as the educational level of the nation has risen.

If all students were pursuing educational and occupational courses which were consistent with each other, one could expect to find that the pre-professional students plan to continue their education until they are qualified to enter the first type of occupation. Those prepared for occupations by their undergraduate educations would enter the first or second type of occupation on their graduation, and those who were unprepared for an occupation would either enter an occupation of the third type or continue their education to prepare for an occupation of one of the first two types.

In general the courses of action or alternatives outlined above were followed by the males. The males who were unprepared for occupations and who were not definitely going to graduate school chose occupations specifying only amount of education required, or occupations with no specific educational requirements. The males who were in pre-professional courses intended to continue their educations on the professional level. The incongruity which was outstanding was that 42% of those males who were prepared for specific occupations by their undergraduate training said that they were going to graduate school. This raised the question as to why almost half of the males who were qualified to enter occupations which they were trained for chose to deviate from the "reasonable" course, for these men, the college course had apparently been lacking in imposing reality upon them. An investigation of some of the characteristics of this group led to some revealing findings. The males in this group who indicated that they were going to graduate school were different from the rest of their group in terms of 1) the education of their fathers, which was higher than the group as a whole; 2) the occupation of their fathers, which tended to be professional or managerial — not too surprising a finding in terms of their higher education; and 3) an intention to do "better" than their fathers in

terms of social class, that is, as a group they were more consciously upwardly mobile. They differed from the other students going to graduate school in their strong emphasis of the economic advantages of graduate education.

A second incongruity to the "reasonable" course of progress through the educational system into the occupational system was found among the female students. The argument which was given above for the immunity of the females from the second function seems to be applicable here. Females are not so involved in the necessity of following an occupation because of the goal of marriage.

In spite of these two incongruities, the educational system evidently injects enough reality into occupational and educational choice-making to make the two compatible with each other, at least at the college senior level.

DISCUSSION

The educational system is closely linked to the occupational system in our society. This relationship not only concerns the preparation for an occupation within the system, but also the relationship of the occupations themselves determining the requirements to enter the occupation and the educational system adjusting to these requirements. This paper has been concerned largely with some of the informal functions of the educational system in the choice of an occupation. In discussing these functions it was pointed out that for individuals who were not concerned with the necessity of seeking preparation for an occupation, the functioning of the educational system was different than for those who were involved in choosing and preparing for a lifetime occupation. For those who must prepare for occupations however, it was pointed out that passing through the educational system tended to do two things, first, to serve as a motivator of choice of an occupation, and second to act as a reality check as to the plausibility of their occupational plans in relation to their educational plans. The remaining function seemed to be a result of the motivation of choice. Schools, particularly colleges, have built organizations to handle the advising of students. One type of organization provides formal aid in occupational and educational decisions to a select clientele. The second type of organization was set up to offer advice in relation to academic subject selection, and tends to serve as a source of aid for occupational choices to those males whose parents apparently do not have the background to give meaningful occupational advice, and to those males who are below average intellect in college.

Finally, in pointing out that the educational system is structured in such a manner as to impose a certain reality factor on occupational

aspirations, it may be noted that the males who chose graduate school as an alternative to entering the occupation for which their college educations prepared them were, as a group, upwardly mobile. They were using graduate education as a means of securing this upward mobility.

The fact that education can be translated into money and status is certainly not a new one. In fact, sociologists have long underlined the importance of education as a path of upward mobility, but usually education has meant college or professional education, not graduate training. Apparently with the increasing amount of education received by potential job holders, and the public in general, two things have happened: 1) an undergraduate degree as a "ticket" to "good" jobs has lost some of its value because of the increased number of "tickets," and 2) the education of the fathers of the current college generation is higher than preceding generations, putting an emphasis on graduate work as one way of doing better than one's father. If this is the case, then the goal of graduate education of knowledge for knowledge's sake may be replaced by a goal of getting a head start in the pursuit of mobility and money.

All of those functions point to the conclusion that the educational system itself is being changed by its role as a part of the occupational choice system.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COLORED GRADE SCHOOL CHILDREN: NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES & WEST INDIANS IN BRITAIN*

Frank F. Lee

This paper deals with a comparison between Negro children in the United States and West Indian children in Britain of grade school age. It seeks primarily to explain the differences in attitudes between these two populations as stemming from their respective cultural backgrounds. It also seeks to point out some of the implications of these attitudes.

The source of information in the United States is the author's personal knowledge of two towns where he has done considerable research on the Negro. One is a town of 10,000 population in Connecticut, the other of approximately 84,000 in Southern California. They are hereafter known as Connecticut Town¹ and Desert Town respectively. The source of knowledge for the United Kingdom is the research experience of the author in a city of 450,000 in southwestern England, hereafter known as Port City.² The other usual documentary sources were pursued in both countries.

In discussing the similarities and differences between Negro grade school children in the United States and West Indian grade school children in Britain, perhaps the most useful way to begin is to describe a few of the salient aspects of the British racial situation. So vastly different are the two groups in their respective environments that by making this comparison some of the basic racial problems involved can possibly be brought into clearer focus.

First, what is the background of West Indian immigrants in Britain? As in the case of American Negroes, most of whose families trace their ancestry to the South from which many of them have

¹ Connecticut Town has previously been reported on in the following articles: "The Race Relations Pattern by Areas of Behavior in a Small New England Town," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, April 1954, pp. 138-143; "Social Controls in the Race Relations Pattern of a Small New England Town," *Social Forces*, Vol. 33, No. 1, October 1954, pp. 36-40; "A Cross-Institutional Comparison of Northern and Southern Race Relations," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 42, No. 3, January-February 1958, pp. 185-191. It also will be more fully reported in NEGRO AND WHITE IN CONNECTICUT TOWN to be published by Bookman Associates in the fall of 1960.

² Port City has also been reported on previously in "Racial Patterns in a British City," *Phylon*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring 1960, pp. 40-50 and in "Social Controls in British Race Relations," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 44, No. 5, May-June 1960, pp. 326-334.

* Revised version of a paper read at the Southwestern Anthropological Association meeting, April 1960.

come within the last few years, West Indians also are the products of a large, loosely-knit extended matriarchal family system. With their migration into Britain, however, this similarity between the two colored populations disappears and a striking contrast appears. Whereas intermarriage of white and Negro is quite negligible in the United States, the rate in Britain is extremely high. Most West Indians who marry in Britain marry white British women, the majority of whom are of the lower or working class by any definition. In addition some of them are on the edge of prostitution and so in a real sense are almost outside of British society and its class system.

The children of these unions are, of course, colored in both the British and American senses of the word, and are naturally socialized to a high degree by their British mothers. In the case of the few children brought to Britain from the West Indies by but one parent, that parent also frequently marries a Briton. In effect, then, many of these children, too, are reared and socialized at least in part by their white British step-parents.

A second factor in the background of West Indian immigrants is that, again unlike the American Negro, they have been brought up in an environment which is comparatively free from prejudice. Furthermore, they have been taught to regard themselves as British, with Britain as their "home." The results of these two characteristics together, as contrasted with the fact that in the United States Negroes see themselves exclusively as Americans, is that West Indians do not tend to accept prejudice and discrimination as easily as do many American Negroes (the recent student sit-down strikes in the American South notwithstanding).³ West Indians expect instead to be treated as equals from the time they first arrive in Britain, and when they are not so treated they tend to react strongly, even aggressively.

It is these two related sets of characteristics that form the basis of the Weltanschauung of West Indians in Britain. They have been raised as free men, to see themselves as good as others, as being British, and this attitude is inculcated in the children by their West Indian parents. At the same time this same general outlook is socialized into the children by their white British parents or step-parents

³ A possible change in the character and attitudes of the American Negro may be in the course of development. See, for examples, Frank F. Lee, "The Changing Structure of Negro Leadership," *Crisis*, Vol. 65, No. 4, April 1958, pp. 197-200, 251; Louis E. Lomax, "The Negro Revolt Against the Negro Leaders," *Harper's*, Vol. 220, No. 1321, June 1960, pp. 41-48; Hodding Carter, "The Young Negro is a New Negro," *The New York Times Magazine*, May 1, 1960, pp. 11, 117-119, as well as *The Reporter*, Vol. 22, No. 7, March 31, 1960, which has four articles devoted to the changing Negro.

who are extremely quick to come to the defense of their children in any situation which they categorize as involving prejudice or discrimination.

In those aspects of life which are important for the school environment, both West Indian parents and children tend to have values and attitudes which in many if not all aspects are the same as those held by the people among whom they live and work — for the most part, the British working class. West Indian school children, then, are not from a completely alien or segregated cultural background with all this implies in terms of adjustment to discriminatory attitudes. Rather, they are of the same working class environment, and attend school with the same general attitudes as the ordinary British working man instead of, as too often in the United States, with attitudes which conflict with the dominant values and which are negative, if not hostile, toward education. The only qualification to this statement is that, since Britain has no color census, it is difficult to obtain accurate statistics on the numbers of West Indian children involved, either in toto or in terms of those infinitesimal few who might take the college or university preparatory programs. In any case, the total number of such children is very small, the total West Indian population in Britain today being scarcely 125,000,⁴ most of it adult.

A third related factor is the status of the West Indian in Britain. It is often said that he is not of British society, but outside it. At the same time, as has been already noted, he is definitely lower class whether considered in terms of education, income level, occupation, or any other criteria. This is not to imply that he has *all* the same attitudes as the ordinary British worker. After all, there are considerable differences between the backgrounds of the two groups. And so we find that the average West Indian in Britain is probably more status-conscious than the average white worker, is more eager for upward mobility within British society, and more prone to conspicuous consumption. The desire for success in the schools by West Indian children is probably, therefore, a bit above average. And this applies not only toward the regular academic work but toward athletics as well in which many West Indian students are outstandingly successful in the eyes of their British schoolmates.

Let us now see what the school environment itself is like, and also how it is affected by the conditions which we have been describing heretofore. Briefly, there is no school segregation in Britain

⁴ See Herbert Hill, "A Negro in Notting Hill," *New Statesman*, Vol. LVII, No. 1469, May 9, 1959. It is doubtful in view of the continuing fall in West Indian immigration, if there has been any substantial increase since then.

of any type. Partially because of the small numbers of West Indian migrants and the recency of their immigration, most of them having arrived since 1950, there are no West Indian or colored ghettos as there are Negro ghettos in the United States.⁵ The result is that segregated schools based on residential segregation are non-existent at present and unlikely to be created in the future due to Britain's extensive and continuing program of slum clearance and urban renewal. Under these circumstances West Indian children go to schools in the same districts with their neighboring white playmates.

But this sometimes happens in the United States, too, so what is the internal school situation in such instances in Britain as distinct from this country? First of all, there is little discrimination against the West Indian children by their classmates, either formally or informally. As a matter of fact, in several instances they were favored for positions because they were colored, as if the other children wanted to show how unprejudiced they were, although in other cases, it was due to the customary adulation of good athletes. In the United States there is probably slightly more social distance to be found between white and Negro even on the elementary level.

With respect to the teachers, they are almost invariably white in Britain, unlike the case in American cities. Due to the fact that the West Indian migration is so recent and so largely an unskilled one, there have been few if any immigrants qualified for teaching,⁶ and they have not been there long enough for any to come up through the educational training system. Just about the only colored teachers are individuals from the West Indies and other parts of the Commonwealth or Empire who are in Britain for training purposes. To our knowledge, while Port City has had a few such teachers, none of them had ever instructed any meaningful number of West Indian children. As for the white teachers in Port City, there have never been any reported instances of overt discrimination or prejudice ex-

⁵ This is not to say that ghettos will not appear in Britain. Sheila Patterson reports, for example, in an as yet unpublished work, that Brighton, London has a colored population which is about one-third of the total. This is the highest percentage in any sizable area that I have heard of. It seems unlikely, however, that the percentage of colored, much less of West Indians, would go much higher due to the extensive British program of slum clearance and urban renewal. In addition it must be kept in mind that British racial attitudes are really quite different from those in the United States. See Michael Barton, *White and Colored: The Behavior of British People Towards Colored Immigrants*, London: Jonathan Cape 1959, for the most recent authoritative discussion of this topic.

⁶ For the moving autobiography of one of the few exceptions see E. R. Braithwaite, *To Sir, With Love*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960.

pressed by them against their colored charges. Once or twice some of these teachers have made remarks which unconsciously reflected invidiously on the West Indies, or, more precisely, on present or former British colonial areas and their inhabitants. As suggested previously, attitudes of this sort did not sit well with the West Indian adults, spouses, or children. In all cases the reaction against such remarks was strong, aggressive, and immediate — with good effect. In the United States white teachers' attitudes are probably equally nondiscriminatory, but when discriminatory and prejudiced attitudes are found the Negro parents are less likely to protest or take action.

Before analyzing the implications of this British situation, let us review briefly the situation in what are probably two typical non-Southern towns in the United States, Desert City and Connecticut Town. As indicated previously, most American Negroes are originally the products of large, loosely-knit, extended matriarchal families. Furthermore, this type of family is perpetuated by the present generation outside of the South in perhaps still a majority of instances. Intermarriage with whites, of course, is almost non-existent. As a group Negroes in these two towns are predominantly lower class on any basis, but are in many respects different from white members of the same class. As members of a society that has practiced segregation and discrimination for over 300 years and which still does so today even in the North, and despite the notable advances in integration that have been made in recent years, these Negroes, particularly the adults, are not generally inclined to protest strongly their unfavorable treatment. This is true even when the means exist for doing so as in the case of states or cities which have antidiscriminatory legislation. These minority individuals do not expect to be treated as equals by whites, much though they may desire it and feel it their due, and their common reaction is frequently one of withdrawal and avoidance rather than challenge as in the case of the West Indians.⁷

We thus have among American Negroes an attitude toward life and its chances, a *Weltanschauung*, which is radically different from that of the West Indians in Britain. If additional evidence were needed, we would have but to look at the role and position of West Indian immigrants in American society to which they had comparatively free access until the 1952 McCarran Act.⁸ Settling heavily in cities such as New York, these immigrants have in many instances

⁷ See footnote 1.

⁸ For an accurate, if somewhat journalistic, account of the West Indians in Harlem see Roi Ottley, *New World A' Coming*, Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1943, pp. 43-48. Also see Maurice R. Davie, *Negroes in American Society*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949, pp. 401, 448, among others.

provided the intellectual, moral, and political leadership for the Negro community — much to the dislike of native-born Negroes. All this is not to say that American Negro attitudes are not changing, but only that changes occur over long periods of time and that old, established ways of thinking and acting for the most part die out only when the older generation is gone or has lost control.

Within the American school system we find mainly white teachers and almost exclusively white administrators. This situation cannot help but have deleterious effects on Negro youth who realize that this is due mainly to discriminatory practices. School segregation based on residential segregation is common, too, and relationships between white and Negro children are often limited both during and after school hours, the latter being especially noticeable.⁹ Finally, the attitudes of white teachers and administrators toward Negro children, while usually not outright discriminatory, are too often condescending and negative, and the protective attitudes and actions of Negro parents and children weak and largely ineffective.

Thus, in many cases the attitude of the American Negro in these and other urban areas is quite different from that of the majority of whites. In some instances, of course, the attitudes of the two racial groups toward education are similar, as seen in the fact that most American youth neither plan for nor enter college, and that too many do not even bother to finish high school. For example, in Connecticut Town up to 1952 only one Negro in the town's history had ever gone to college, while in Desert Town, too, most stopped by the end of high school at the latest.

Where the American Negro has adopted white educational attitudes, they have too often been the attitudes of the lower-lower class, hostile and apathetic toward education. What this means is that the Negro is even more likely to remain in his present stratum with its attitudes than might otherwise be the case. He is not a person who is particularly concerned with upward mobility, although at the same time he is concerned with conspicuous consumption and status display.¹⁰ He is not even in many instances concerned with upward mobility within Negro society. The Negro's attitude toward American society is, therefore, like the attitude of many lower-lower class

⁹ As a partial indication of the relationship between white and Negro American school children, see Thelma Ballard, *Negro and White Social Behavior in an Integrated Junior High School*, University of California, Riverside California, Senior Thesis, June 1959. What she observes on the junior high school level is probably also true, if in lesser degree on the elementary school level.

¹⁰ See E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 303-304.

whites, one of passiveness and apathy. He sees himself rejected by the society and tends in part to reject it as well.

But there is more to his feelings than apathy alone. The other half of his ambivalent feelings is an attitude of increasing aggressiveness and hostility against white society and the things for which it stands. This is seen perhaps in the growth of the "Moslem" movement in this country¹¹ and also in the student sit-down strikes of the South. More commonly, however, especially for the children of grade school age, the protest is channeled into anti-educational attitudes along the lines mentioned earlier, with consequent rejection of the school system, the teachers, and those students, both Negro and white, who do not conform to these attitudes. There also is rejection of parental attitudes which so often border on compliance with discriminatory patterns, and which to these youth seem insipid and weak. These reactions do not tend to make for a good school environment, or to make it easy for them to take advantage of what the educational system has to offer. This complex of mutually antagonistic, if compatible feelings may be one possible explanation for the dangerous growth of juvenile delinquency in many of our nation's larger cities, and it will not be ended by increasing the severity of treatment. Rather, such action would probably make it worse.

But this ambivalent tendency has other facets, too, for it is more commonly found in segregated schools where the children grow up in an unreal, isolated world, overwhelmingly taught by white teachers and principles. In Connecticut Town with its small population of 10,000, of whom less than 2 per cent were Negroes, segregated schools were manifestly impossible. But the teachers were exclusively white until 1952 when the first Negro teacher was hired — and assigned to an elementary school exclusively for whites in an upper-class area of town.¹² Furthermore, in this town as in many others there was a close policy of cooperation between the schools and industries in the hiring and placing of school graduates in local factories and businesses. The result of this was that the Negro children were generally overlooked even on the grade level and left with the choice upon graduation either of engaging in unskilled or domestic work in town or of moving to Central City for a job more in line with their training and interests. Scant wonder, then, that few went beyond high school. Not much incentive was offered.

¹¹ See the very interesting and informative article by Alex Haley, "Mr. Muhammad Speaks," *Reader's Digest*, Vol. 76, No. 455, March 1960, pp. 100-104.

¹² At least the assignment of the teacher to such a school served the purpose of introducing white children to a Negro who was not a laborer or a domestic servant, and thus aided *their* educational development.

In Desert City with its much larger population of nearly 85,000, it had a large enough school system, over 11,000 elementary students, to permit a good bit of residential segregation. As of 1960, out of 22 schools on all levels there were two exclusively for children of minority extraction, and it was estimated by school authorities that they handled not less than ninety per cent of all Negro grade school children. Of the remaining schools, less than ten were in the integrated category. Even in the two minority schools with the vast majority of Negro children of grade school age, most of the teachers were still white, there have never been any Negro or other minority principals, and once out of grade school and into junior high the students were a real problem to the authorities. For the rest of the school system, no Negro teachers were hired until the fall of 1955 when the first one to make the break-through was placed in one of the schools for the handicapped. Today the system has approximately 15 Negro teachers who have been placed in only one or two instances in integrated and all-white elementary schools although most of them are still teaching in the segregated schools. In the last two years five have been hired on the junior or senior high school level for the first time.

The results of such environments as we have described above are obviously quite different from those of Britain. The United States is a society in which Negro children are in a sense urged not to try to excel, not to have high hopes and aspirations. Rather, from their parents at home and from their predominantly white teachers and principals at school they are too often encouraged to be satisfied with the position ascribed to them by the white society in which they find themselves. Furthermore, all too many job opportunities are still as yet closed to them. It is little wonder, then, that these students are both apathetic toward the over-all values of the society at the same time that they are more and more aggressive and hostile toward it as they strive for what they increasingly feel is rightfully theirs.

What conclusions can be drawn from all of this? In the first instance, it is not too difficult to foretell with a fair degree of accuracy what the outcome in the United States will be, i.e., an increasingly powerful if slow movement toward integration on all levels of school and home environment. The only exception to this statement seems to be the incoming ecological segregation of even larger numbers of Negroes in the larger metropolitan centers of the North. The outcome of this development in the near future is not too easily foretold. It can also be remarked parenthetically that changing patterns of occupational opportunity for Negroes may also eventually affect educational aspirations as clear connection is perceived between edu-

cation and jobs.¹³ By contrast, it is difficult to predict accurately what the future holds for the West Indians in Britain. They are so new to that country, so few in numbers, and have had so little chance to demonstrate what they can do, that one cannot safely foretell future developments. Immigration in recent years has fallen off considerably, and it seems as though this colored population will always remain small, certainly less than one per cent for the rest of this century. It will also remain scattered, both throughout Britain and within the cities where it is found, the latter situation being at least partially due to Britain's urban redevelopment and slum clearance projects. It is therefore safe to forecast that West Indian or other colored ghettos will probably not arise, so that there seems little possibility of any residential school segregation.

At the same time it is difficult to tell what will be the eventual attitudes of West Indian homes and of West Indian school children as larger numbers of them leave school and try to find jobs in competition with whites. At present there is some evidence to indicate that native-born colored often find it harder to get jobs and to live normal lives than colored immigrants. If this is indeed true or if it should become true in the future, it is possible that the present attitudes of so many Negro youth in the United States which are so decried may also increasingly be found in Britain.

At long last American school personnel, if far from completing the job, seem to be partially aware of what is at stake and what steps can be taken to improve the success rate of Negro youth. The educational half of the cultural environment is beginning to come under control. If it is at least partially successful it will probably be able in time, along with assists from other branches of American life such as industry and government, to bring the Negro family into greater conformity with over-all American patterns. The end result of this will be the movement of the vast majority of Negro youth into the educational mainstream of American life.

As for Britain's West Indians, even though their present is rosier than that of American Negroes, the pattern of their future is still undetermined. It will probably be established within the next 10-15 years as the present West Indian school population leaves the school system in search of jobs or moves into the university system in search of more education. As this unpredictable future develops, so probably will the West Indian family and educational environment in turn.

¹³ See the most perceptive and thorough article by Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, February, 1959, pp. 47-60, where he suggests certain relationships between aspirations and (what we will call here) expectations.

In conclusion, we see that in these two societies the important variable is the cultural climate of home and school on the one hand, and the outside world of jobs and opportunities on the other. In Britain, it is the latter which presently holds the key to the future; in this country it is the former. In both cases what is essential for persons dealing with members of either of these groups is an understanding of the cultural background from which the children have come, and an appreciation of the world in which they both find themselves and into which they will move one day as adults.

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BOOK READING IN THE SENIOR YEARS: THE HABITS AND PREFERENCES OF 200 MISSISSIPPIANS

Jere Hoar

Ours is a population in which the percentage of aged persons will probably increase for some time. Uniting to bring this about are long term expectations for declining birth rates, increasing percentages of persons in middle years, and decreasing death rates among the old.¹

Many areas of life, including the media of mass communications and the arts, will be affected.

Since book reading has not generally been characteristic of adults in the United States, what practices and preferences can be expected from an aging population?²

In an attempt to answer this question with regard to a specific universe, the book reading habits and preferences of persons 60 years of age and more in a rural Mississippi town were investigated.³

The persons interviewed were randomly selected. A private census had established before selection the size of the universe and the location of its members. Estimates of size were verified from census data.⁴

All proper respondents were interviewed, and the number interviewed, 200, represented sixty two per cent of the universe.

BOOK READING: AVERAGE WEEKDAY

In response to the question, "How much time would you say you spend reading books . . . on the average weekday?" 60.0 per cent of those interviewed said they averaged less than 30 minutes.

Attitudes toward books ranged from that of a woman who would "give up life" before her books to those expressed in the examples which follow.

One respondent, a man, 75, said stoutly, "No storybooks. It's a habit, that's all it is. I never got the habit."

A former pharmacist, now in another business, claimed to have

¹ See, U.S., Bureau of Census, *Estimates of the Population of the United States, By Age, Color, and Sex: July 1, 1956, to 1958*. (February 11, 1959), pp. 2, 9; also, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1958* (Washington, 1958), pp. 56, 65.

² *American Library Annual and Book Trade Almanac, 1959*, ed. Wyllis E. Wright (New York, 1959), p. 35.

³ Jere R. Hoar, "Reading, Listening and Viewing Behavior of the Aged: An Inventory of the Mass Communications Habits and Preferences of 200 Aged Persons in Oxford, Mississippi." Unpubl. diss. (State University of Iowa, 1960).

⁴ Total 1950 Oxford population was 25 foreign born white persons, 2971 native born white, 960 Negro, none of other races, U.S., Bureau of Census, *Census of Population: 1950*. II, Part 24, Table 20.

"never read a book." He said he doesn't read newspapers or magazines either, but depends upon what employees tell him.

"It was back before '28 when I read a book," a retired dairyman said. "I went in the dairy then, and haven't had time to read one since."

The average reading time of the 41 respondents who read books more than 30 minutes on the average weekday was as follows: from 31 to 60 minutes, 10.0 per cent; from one to two hours, 5.0 per cent; from two to three hours, 3.5 per cent; from four to five hours, 3.0 per cent.

More variation was observed when book reading was examined in connection with education than with age. As education increased there was a drop in the percentage of females who claimed no book reading. Book reading claims were about two times as frequent among graduate school educated males as among males with less education. In every educational level, more women claimed to read on the average weekday than did men. Generally, fewer males in their seventies and eighties read books and they read them for shorter periods than did men in their sixties. But among women readers, this pattern was not evident. A higher percentage of women in their eighties than women in their sixties or seventies said they averaged at least a few minutes a day reading a book.

WHEN RESPONDENTS LAST READ A BOOK

When questioned as to when they last read a book, respondents replies ranged from "now" to "never."

Twenty-four men and twenty-five women said they did not know how long it had been. Nineteen respondents said it had been a year since they had read a book. Eighteen claimed to be reading a book the day of the interview. Seventeen persons said it had been "three or fewer months." Seventeen others said it had been "many years."

An 82-year-old woman last read *The White Rose of Memphis* 40 years ago to her children. It was a best seller written some 75 years ago by Col. W. C. Falkner, grandfather of the present day Nobel Prize winner who lives in the community studied.

A 65-year-old man recalled reading 10 years before a "ten cent novel, *Bronco in Arizona*."

An examination of responses seems to indicate that the older a person was the more likely he was to have read a book "recently." And the percentage of respondents who said they had read a book within a year increased with each educational level.

One woman, the wife of a concrete contractor, gave loneliness as the reason for a decline in reading. She said she read a great deal

until her children left: "They all seemed to go so suddenly . . . I was lonely, and tried to keep busy with activities.⁵

Some respondents said they did not do as much book reading in summer, the time of the interview, as in winter. The opportunity to get outside seemed the major factor. Some said they engaged in gardening. Others sat in the sun.

Several respondents gave reasons such as "high blood pressure which affects my vision," "my eyes won't let me," or "my eye muscle trouble keeps me from reading," in explaining why they had not read books in recent weeks or months.

It is undoubtedly true that health and visual trouble did affect the reading habits of some respondents. However, it would seem that prevalence of eye trouble would increase with increasing age. And, by modal response, the older persons in this study more frequently than those younger said they had read a book recently.

One explanation might be that when aged persons retain the ability to read, the state to which their declining vision has fallen is not the major determinant of whether they read or not. Failing sight may effectively deter a person not habituated to reading from making the attempt; but another person who has read extensively throughout a lifetime may (with the aid of a magnifying glass if necessary) continue to read even though on a diminished scale.

It seemed that visual, mental, or general health problems among respondents, which were indicated as preventing their reading books, did not necessarily prevent their reading newspapers or watching television.

An aged woman, senile, tried to read a religious newspaper. It was her only mass communications exposure. But, the interviewer noted, she did not seem to understand what she read.

An active octogenarian who subscribed to 16 magazines, four daily newspapers, and three weekly newspapers claimed no readership of books on the average weekday. He had eye muscle trouble, it is true, but viewed television an hour each day and read newspapers and magazines two hours.

TITLES OF BOOKS LAST READ

Respondents listed 82 books as having been read most recently. "Most recently" sometimes meant books read 40 years previously.

An examination of the list shows that seven of the books were written (in one case, *believed* to have been written) by local authors. Several were concerned with the South and its problems. Several could

⁵ In this case it is interesting to note that reading was not considered an activity. The respondent apparently sought only physical activity.

be classified as juveniles, and, not unexpectedly, many were of a religious-biographical nature. Few classics were listed, but both fiction and non-fiction best sellers were listed.

It is undoubtedly true that Bible readership was underestimated. Respondents did not seem to feel that Bible reading should be classified with other reading.

Even when interviewees showed interest in religious reading material, radio programs and telecasts, they frequently failed to list the Bible as a book read.

As one respondent said, "It's not just a book."

The only books mentioned by more than one respondent as having been the last ones read were: *This Hallowed Ground*, *The Nun's Story*, *The Holy Bible*, *The Bridge at Andau*, *The Last Angry Man*, *The White Rose of Memphis*, *The River Road*, *The Scapegoat*, *Imperial Woman*, *Readers Digest Condensed Book*, and *Intruder in the Dust*.

NUMBER READ: PRECEDING SIX MONTHS

The number of books read by male respondents in the six months preceding the interviews ranged from none to 40, and by females from none to 50. More significant, perhaps, is the fact that 48 of 66 males had read no books, and 66 of 134 females had read none.

Six males claimed to have read one book, four claimed three, two claimed to have read six, and two claimed to have read two.

Among women, 16 claimed to have read one, eight to have read two, eight to have read four, three to have read 24, three to have read 30, and two each to have read five, seven, 12 and 20.

Other responses were made by one person each.

Modal response for those reading, among both men and women, was one book.

The percentage of respondents claiming to have read no books in the previous six months decreased as age increased, if women in their seventies are excluded from consideration. The percentages representing persons having read a book increased, in general, with increased education.

As a rule, it was respondents with college and graduate school educations who had read the greatest number of books.

MOST POPULAR TYPES OF BOOKS

Fiction, religious books, and biographies were most frequently listed by respondents as having been read in the previous six months. Only fiction was read by males and females of all age groups, and obtained its most frequent response from men and women in their eighties.

More than twenty per cent of book reading in the six months preceding the interviews had been of fiction. Religious books accounted for 13.1 per cent of the reading and biographies for 8.1 per cent. Other reading was divided among books of philosophy, self help, history, art and "all kinds."

Age did not seem to be a controlling factor in preferences for types of books, although fiction obtained its greatest advocacy from men and women in their eighties. Fiction was the only classification in which reading was reported by males and females in all age groups.

No book of philosophy or self help was read by anyone past their sixties. No book of religion or biography was read by a male past his seventies. Books of art were read only by females in their sixties and seventies.

When the types of books read is considered in relation to increasing educational levels, it appears that fiction reading by both males and females increased. Religious books were read by persons of all educational levels, but books of philosophy only by college educated women.

The percentage of respondents saying they had read nothing was lower among college and graduate school educated respondents than among those grade and high school educated.

Responses to this question seem to support Strong's conclusion that "the things we like most at 25 years are liked better and better with increasing age, and the things we like least at 25 are liked less and less."⁶

Or, "Just as it has been found that individual differences in intellectual traits are much greater than sex or age or racial differences, so here differences as represented by occupational differences are much greater than differences due to age."⁷

A civil engineer volunteered that the book he enjoyed most in the last few years was *Panama Passage*, which, he pointed out, "was about engineering, you know."

The wife of a minister stated a preference for "religious stories that have been fictionalized."

A law officer who had wanted to be a cowboy was a regular reader of westerns.

And a retired dairyman who had run away from home at the age of 12 to "follow the tracks" and be an exercise boy, still read racing news avidly.

Before being asked any questions about books and book reading,

⁶ Edward K. Strong, Jr., *Change of Interests with Age* (Stanford, 1931), p. 31.

⁷ Strong, p. 21.

READING OF BEST SELLERS

respondents were shown a list of 32 best seller titles. Sixty-seven persons said they had read one or more of the books, and 132 said they had read none.

This readership claim seems exaggerated. In some cases respondents evidently confused the best sellers with books they had read in the past. Book titles are not copyrightable, and are therefore sometimes identical and often similar.⁸

For example, a 66-year-old college educated widow who claimed to have read four of the books listed, answered the next question by saying she last read a book seven years ago.

A 66-year-old high school educated woman who claimed to have read one of the best sellers, then said it had been "several years" since she had read a book, and "it was by Kipling."

A 65-year-old man in the two to three thousand dollar income bracket said somewhat uncertainly he had read six of the listed best sellers. But he couldn't remember the title of the last book he had read because he hadn't "read one in six or eight years."

One lady mistook *The Bible as History* for "the Bible as history" and said she read it "all the time."

However, other respondents could inform interviewers about reading tastes, habits, and preferences with great precision.

A woman, 85, said she last read *The Crimson Mountain*, one of 30 Grace Livingston Hill novels she owned. She read them repeatedly and had read 10 in the previous six months. She liked religious fiction, she said, "because it makes the plan of salvation perfectly clear to any man or woman."

A respondent, educated in Europe, said she had read 20 books in the preceding six months, most recently *The Town*. She said she read Dickens primarily, and "very few best sellers."

A 79-year-old woman who claimed to have read 30 books in the previous six months produced a copy of *The Story of Religion* from a stack nearby. She said she read "anything that comes into my hands."

An employed librarian who refused to give her age said most of her reading was done in reference books and biographies. She estimated she had read 20 such books in the previous six months, but most recently had read *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*.

A 62-year-old wife of a fireman had read four books in the past six months, all horse stories. The most recent was *The Black Stallion and Satan*.

⁸ Richard S. McCartney, "Quiz on Copyright," *Writer's Digest*, eds., Aaron M. Mathieu and Joseph A. Alvarez (16th ed.; Cincinnati, 1958), p. 417.

A woman who had read 50 books lived on an income of less than one thousand dollars a year. She spent from three to four hours a day reading, and had read most recently *Nurse's Aid*.

A 75-year-old spinster who lived with an elderly sister and companion said she had read seven books in the previous six months, including biographies, religious books, and fiction. Most recently she had read *Mother and Queen*. She expressed a strong preference for biographies, "except those written by women. Women always make things so perfect, and they aren't like that at all."

Another woman read only detective novels which she exchanged with friends.

A man read only novels he bought or borrowed from friends, "because the library won't let me keep them as long as I want to."

As age increased, there was a clear cut decrease in the percentage of men who said they had read one or more best sellers. But the opposite was true of women.

The effect of education upon readership of best sellers was most noticeable. Claimed readership by college and graduate school educated respondents was much more frequent than by the grade and high school educated.

Higher percentages of women than men claimed best seller reading at all educational levels except at the graduate school level. There 80.0 per cent of both groups said they had read one or more of the books.

Among best sellers, those mentioned more than once by male respondents were: *The Town*, 4; *The Scapegoat*, 3; *The Bible as History*, 3; *The F.B.I. Story*, 3; *This Hallowed Ground*, 2; *Gold Rush Country*, 2. Each of eight other books was read by one man only. One respondent had also read a condensed version of a book. One had read a newspaper serialization.

Most popular among females were: *A Legacy*, 11; *Mandingo*, 8; *The Town*, 6; *Far, Far the Mountain*, 5; *The Scapegoat*, 3; *The Wapshot Chronicle*, 2.

These books were read by both men and women: *A Legacy*, *The Town*, *The Wapshot Chronicle*, *The Scapegoat*, *The F.B.I. Story*, *The Bridge at Andau*, *This Hallowed Ground*, *The Bible as History*.

Of the eight best sellers read by both men and women, only three were in the top 10 in sales nationally.

Among males, the number of different best sellers mentioned decreased with age. But women of eighty and more read a greater variety of books than women in their sixties and seventies.

Breakdowns by education seem productive of this fact: The number of male respondents in each age group declined as educational level increased, but the frequency with which best sellers were men-

tioned actually increased and the variety of titles grew more diverse. Among women, the frequency with which books were mentioned increased through college level, but the number of different best sellers mentioned did not increase systematically with the level of education.

SUMMARY

Approximately sixty per cent of respondents said they spent no time on the average weekday reading books. Modal reading time of those who read was "less than 30 minutes."

Education apparently had a stronger effect upon book reading than age.

There was a drop in the percentage of females who claimed no book reading as education increased. Book reading was about two times as prevalent among graduate school educated males as among males with less education. At every educational level, more women than men claimed to be weekday readers.

The most frequent response when respondents were asked how long it had been since they had read a book was "don't know"; the second most frequent response was "a year." The percentage of all respondents who said they had read a book within a year increased as education increased.

Respondents listed 82 books as having been read "most recently." Books written by local authors, books about the South, juveniles, religious books, biographies, and best sellers were included.

Forty-eight of 66 men and 66 of 134 women said they had read no books in the previous six months. The modal number for those who had read was one book. As a rule, it was respondents with college and graduate school educations who had read the greatest number of books. Fiction, religious books and biography were most often mentioned as having been read in the previous six months. Only fiction had been read by both males and females of all age groups. Certain types of books had been read only by persons of a particular age and educational background.

Sixty-seven respondents said they had read one or more of 32 best sellers. As age increased, the percentage of males who said they had read a best seller decreased. But under the same conditions, there was an increase in the percentage of women who said they had read a best seller.

Readership of best sellers, in general, increased among both men and women with increasing education, but the increase was more apparent in the replies of men than in the replies of women.

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